1: Gifford E-4,5 (1920-1921) 1929 OU9 Tonga OU9

administered by superior chiefs anciently, and now, by the established Government. It was no doubt the system by which labor was requisitioned for the construction of the great royal tombs, the pigeon mounds, the great trilithon, and other works for royal or public purposes. The account of Matauvave, the Tui Tonga's steward in Haapai, is a good example of the working of the system. (See p. 69.) A rebellion against the oppressiveness of this system in early times is cited by Thomson (54, pp. 294, 300). Wilson mentions the *fatongia* (*fadangyeer*) or tax on labor and states that inferior chiefs sent men two or three times a week to labor for the Tui Kanokupolu ("Dugonagaboola"). He also says (65, p. 384, liii):

> In improvements and civil government the people of the Friendly Islands appear superior . . . their lands better cultivated, their roads neatly maintained, and their country generally enclosed with reed fences; property also appears more protected, and no arbitrary exactions noticed; . . .

In 1797, according to Wilson, there were three main districts in Tongatabu, each governed by an absolute ruler; the northwestern, Hihifo (Aheefo) district, ruled by the Tui Kanokupolu; the middle, Mua district, ruled by Fatafehi (Futtafaihe) probably the Tui Pelehake; and the southeastern, Hahake (Ahoge) district, ruled by Vaharlo. Subdivisions of these districts were ruled by inferior chiefs. Perhaps in some measure the boundaries of these three districts coincided with the three modern districts (*vahe*) of Hihifo, Loto (middle), and Hahake. To what extent these districts were administrative rather than purely geographic is not clear.

The following account of the origin of the name Pukotala gives a picture of the method of transmitting orders from a chief to his tenants:

> On the island of Haano there are four villages. Starting from the northwestern end of the island, they are Muitoa, Haano or Lotohaano, Pukotala, and Fakakakai. The lord of the island, known as Tui Haa Ngana, holds sway over the first three, but Fakakakai never had a chief and as its name indicates is made up of people from different parts that have settled there. In the olden days when the chief desired to give notice to the people of some new arrangement, he summoned his attendants and matapule to Haano and told them what he wanted accomplished. A runner was dispatched to Pukotala to acquaint the folk there of Tui Haa Ngana's intentions. On the outskirts of the village was a big *puko* tree ("cottonwood") and up this the runner used to climb and yell out at the top of his voice his chief's wishes. It was from this circumstance that the place derived its name: *puko*, cottonwood tree; *tala*, to tell.

The early voyagers mention portable houses set up at convenient places near anchorages for the reception of visitors. At the abodes of great chiefs were special houses, open on all sides where meetings were held, public affairs transacted, and foreigners received in state. Tasman pictures such a house, which he describes as a raised and roofed platform (30). This is probably the type of structure designated by the Tongans of today as *falehau*.

25: Collocott M-5 (no date) 1927 OU9 Tonga OU9

PRIESTS.

276 574 793 643 The suggestion has been made that priests were free to sit in the *alofi* of all *kava* ceremonies. It is said that a living pastor of the Methodist Church, belonging to Ha'ano, of which island the chief alone, the Tu'i Ha'a-ngana, and his *matapule*, have places in the *alofi* of the king's *kava* party, sat in the *alofi* at a *kava* party of the late king, George Tupou II. When his position was challenged he claimed the right to be there as a *taula-'eiki*, priest, because of his status as a pastor in the Mission, and his claim was allowed. Doubtless this case illustrates the king's good nature rather than the cleric's inherent right, but points to ancient priestly privilege.

KAVA TO A TRAVELLING PARTY.

276 574 485 565 554 624 [431] The root is brought and placed before the leader of the travelling party, or man of highest rank amongst them. He thanks the donors for their gift, picks it up, and puts it down again. The *matapule* of the highest chief present, whether he is one of the travellers or not, calls for the *kava* to be brought to him, and has the whole, or portion, prepared and drunk. The piece of root not being beaten up and brewed, or some other piece of *kava*, lies before the *matapule* the while. When one round has been drunk he orders the piece of *kava* lying before him to be taken to the *matapule* on the other side of the chief (in important *kava* ceremonies of all kinds the highest chief has a *matapule* on either hand, other chiefs present have but one). This *matapule* will then supervise a second round of drinking, using the liquor left in the bowl from the first round, if there be enough, or ordering the pieces already strained out to be beaten up and used again, or having a fresh piece of root prepared. If there be a third round the piece of root and supervision return to the first *matapule*, and so on.

The passing of function from one *matapule* to the other is not confined to parties welcoming travellers.

276 574 565 624 In any *kava* party the *matapule* may at the point when it is announced that the *kava* is clear, *Kuo ma'a ae kava ni*, give away the *kava* that is in front of him to anybody in the ring, to do what he likes with. Guests are frequently so honoured. The *matapule* says, *Tauhi 'ae kava ni ma'a*

54: Cook G,T-5 (1777) 1967 OU9 Tonga OU9

was necessary for them to know, or rather as far as he knew for Omai was not very well versed in these things himself. As I intended they should remain with the other cattle till we were ready to sail, I desired each of the Chiefs to send a Man or two to look after them along with my people, in order that they might be better acquainted with them. The King and Feenough did so,[1] but Mariwaggy nor no person for him never took the least notice of the Sheep afterwards, nor did Old Toobough attend at this meeting tho desired and in the neighbourhood: to him I designed the Goats which I afterwards gave to the King viz. a Ram and two Ewes. It soon appeared that all were not satisfied with what I had given them, for early in the Mor-
Frid. 20 ning one of our Kids and the two Turkey-cocks were missing. It required no fore sight to know what was become of them and I was determined to have them again; with this View I seized on three Canoes that were along side the Ships and then went a shore and found the King, his Brother, Feenough and some other Chiefs in the house we occupied, I immidiately put a guard over them, and gave them to understand they were not to stir till not only the Kid and Turkeys but every thing that had be[en] stolen from us were returned. This information seemed not in the least to affect them, they assured me every thing should be returned as I desired and sat down and drank their Cava without any manner of restraint. It was not long before an ax and an Iron wedge was brought me. In the mean time some armed men began to gather together behind the house, but on a part of the guard marching against them they despersed and I told the chiefs to give orders that no more should appear which they did and their orders were obeyed. I asked them to go aboard to dinner they readily consented, but after some objected to the Kings going at which he rose up and declared he would be the first man and aboard we came. I kept them there till near 4 oClock then conducted them ashore and soon after the Kid and one of the Turkey-cocks was brought back, the other they said would come the next Morning, I beleived them and released both them and their Canoes. After they were gone Omai and I walked out to see how the people about us fared, for this was the time of their meals. In general they were at short commons, nor is this to be wondered at sence most of the yams &c[a] they brought with them were sold to us, and they never thought of going away so long as they could subsist. Our station was

[1] 'Poulohow & Feenow were highly pleas'd with their allotments, & sent people to take care of them; & I think there is little doubt of their succeeding particularly the Cows, for it always was a favourite conversation of the King's, the riches he should gain by these Animals, enquiring of us how much Iron & other things future Ships would give for a Bullock.'—King, 20 June.

54: Cook G,T-5 (1777) 1967 OU9 Tonga OU9

upon an uncul[t]ivated point, so that there were no people who properly lived within half a mile of us, but even at this distance, amongst such a Multitude of strangers, one might have expected their houses to have been much Crouded; it was quite otherwise, they lived as retired as if there had not been a man in the neighbourhood; all the Strangers lived in little temporary sheds and under trees and bushes; the only thing that seemed to suffer was the Cocoa-nut trees, which were striped of their branches to make sheds for the cheifs. In this walk we met with about half a dozen Women in one place at supper, two of the Company were fed by the others, on our asking the reason, they said Tabu Mattee.[1] On further enquiry, found that one of them had, two months before, washed the dead corps of a Chief, on which account she was not to handle any Victuals for five Months, the other had done the same thing to a nother of inferior rank, and was under the same restriction but not for so long a time. At a nother place hard by we saw a nother Women fed, she had assisted in washing the Corps of the above mentioned Chief.

SATURDAY 21*st*. Early the next Morning the King came on board to invite me to an entertainment he proposed to give the same day. He had already been under the barbers hands, his head being all besmeared with red pigment[2] in order to reden his hair which was naturally of a dark brown. After breakfast I attended him a shore and found his people very busy in two places in the front of our area, fixing in an upright and square position (o o / o o) four very long posts, near two feet from each other. The space between the post[s] were afterwards filled up with yams, and as they went on seized[3] sticks a cross from post to post at the distance of about every four feet to prevent the posts from seperating by the weight of the yams. When they got to the top of these post[s] they fastened others to them and so continued till each pile was the height of 30 feet or upwards. On the Top of one they placed two baked hogs, on the top of the other a living one and a nother they tied by the legs about half way up. It was extraordinary to see with what facility and despatch they raised these two piles, had our seamen be[en] ordered to do such a thing, they would have swore it could not be done without Carpenters and the Carpenters, not without a dozen different sorts of tools, and the expence of at least a hundred weight of nails and after all it would

[1] *Taboo marks.*

[2] Probably some local ochre, as Cook uses the word 'smeared'. Powdered turmeric was often used, but does not seem to fit in to this description.

[3] A nautical use of the word, here merely meaning bound. Normally a rope would be seised to another rope or to something else, by binding the two parallel together.

443 The sale of Tongan handicrafts is also a major source
438 of domestic cash income. Handicrafts, which include items
such as tapa cloth, pandanus mats, pandanus and coconut
443 leaf baskets, seed necklaces, flower leis, and wood carvings
438 are sold through a Tongan woman's co-operative marketing
439 organization, the Langa Fonua, at Talamahu Market and other
441 locations in Nuku'alofa, in special stalls set up on the
485 government commons on days when passenger liners are in
port and select locations near points of interest to sight-
443 seers throughout Tongatapu. Although some handicrafts are
438 exported to Fiji, New Zealand, Australia, American Samoa
439 and the United States, more are sold locally.

Labor Organization

241 Out of 126 sample households with bush allotments,
461 there were 198 males whose primary occupation was working
on these allotments. The average work per week was 23 hours
241 per man and 36 hours per household. Although these men
476 mostly worked as individuals or with family members in small
[461] groups, the figures also include the hours of work in
organized communal groups or as wage laborers on agri-
cultural allotments. For tasks such as clearing bush,
planting crops, harvesting, making tapa, or building houses,
many Tongans prefer to work in communal groups rather than
as individuals or households.

[621] The most common working group is known as the kautaha

/20 cont./

181 sexual explicitness. (14)
[522]
[831]

14. Cf. even J. Martin loc. cit. II. p. 177. Lighthearted--and [capable of being] untroubled--that is the impression the observer has to this day, of the majority of Tongans.

181 /21/ Courtesy within the village community /15/
576

15. See also Farmer, loc. cit. p. 150.

178 on the smaller islands has scarcely diminished. In a place like
184 Nuku'alofa, however, because of the larger number of people (about
[369] 5000 inhabitants) and the gradual urbanization (motor traffic, shops, etc.) a certain measure of estrangement has taken place, though any Tongan inhabitant can come uninvited to any other for a meal. Here
[887] one may notice that in general only the old people greet a European
[177] passing by. A certain relaxation of good manners, especially among
181 the young Tongans in the major towns, is largely attributed to the
576 influence of the foreign troops stationed on Tongatapu during the
177 last war, (16)
685

16. The negative influence of foreign troops through money surplus, in part bad personal examples and incitement to acts which were unknown to the Tongans or seemed morally intolerable (selling and usury where formerly one gave and made presents, theft, i.e. procuring something in devious ways, drinking and methods of producing alcohol, prostitution).
[673]

particularly the presently rather frequent theft. (17)

17. At the time of foreign troops you could often get many things effortlessly; some Tongans with "freer" attitudes thus tend to obtain, likewise "effortlessly," desired articles where a purchase or at least a request is customary.

181 However, such property offences have by no means become widespread
685 even in a seaport like Nuku'alofa (18)

18. The only rooming house in Nuku'alofa has unlocked rooms and closets!
[485]

G 461 434 /320 cont./ work for chief and king, military service, bark cloth making) today often cultivates for purposes of sale; often men and women have separate cotton plantations and the latter regard the proceeds from their sales as their exclusive property.

G T 463 179 The Baganda, like the Tongans, have also become acquainted with new professions, and some are teachers, pastors, assistant physicians, administrative employees, /321/ plantation overseers, houseboys, askaris and chauffeurs. Among the old crafts that of the smith G [326] in particular has been retained, and is limited to certain kinship associations. A good many Baganda are quite successful as tailors and cabinetmakers. Business seems to appeal to them no more than it does to most Tongans; in this African kingdom there are very few native shop owners, which may be partly due to the activity of the G T [485] Indians in this field. A few Baganda run small inns on the main highways, an occupation for which the Tongans lack inclination and opportunity.

G T 436 179 These natives, like the Islanders, have become quite accustomed to European money and use it to a great extent to pay their taxes, to buy imported goods, as well as to pay off debts among themselves; for them money meant not so much a complete innovation, but rather a substitute for, and a further development of, their old "currency" which consisted of cowrie shells, beads, bark cloth and wire. Though G [431] the goat and bark cloth still play a definite role among the Baganda as ceremonial gifts, nevertheless European money has gained greater importance in their customs (that is, marriage, birth and death) than it has among the Tongans. However, the European attitude towards money has remained as alien to these Africans as it has to those South Sea Islanders; in economic matters they are by no means calculating, and it is not unusual for them to be entirely without money for months